

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 135
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PRETORIA 0139

EXDIS

FROM AMBASSADOR LOW

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: RH, UK, PINT, PDEV
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: CARVER/CHAND FINAL MEETING WITH MACHEL

1. SUMMARY: DURING THE LAST SESSION WITH MACHEL, HE SPELLED OUT CLEARLY HIS CONCERN THAT AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WOULD LEAD TO CIVIL WAR. HE CRITICIZED OUR LACK OF PUBLIC CONDEMNATION OF THE INTERNAL TALKS AND THE FACT THAT WE CONTINUE TO HAVE CONTACT WITH THE "TRAITORS" MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE. LORD CARVER AND I EXPLAINED AT LENGTH OUR COMMITMENT TO THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN (AAP.) MACHEL SAID APPROVAL OF A UN FORCE DEPENDED ON ITS COMPOSITION. HE FELT THAT IT COULD BE BROADENED TO INCLUDE MOZAMBIQUE, OTHER FRONTLINE, AFRICAN AND SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. MACHEL SUPPORTED THE IDEA OF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE UK AND PF AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

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HE SEEMED GNERALLY SATISFIED WITH THE COURSE OF THE TALKS AND SAID HE WAS REASSURED THAT THE UK AND US WERE COMMITTED TO THE AAP. END SUMMARY.

2. THE MEETING, ATTENDED BY THE SAME GROUP AS FRIDAY WITH THE EXCEPTION OF MARCELINO DOS SANTOS, BEGAN WITH GENERAL STATEMENTS ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EFFORT IN

WHICH WE ARE ENGAGED AND THE USEFULNESS OF OUR CONVERSATIONS THE PREVIOUS DAY BY BOTH MACHEL AND LORD CARVER. CARVER NOTED THAT WE APPRECIATED THE REASSERTION OF SUPPORT FOR THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND URGED ASSISTANCE IN ARRANGING EARLY DISCUSSIONS BASED ON OWEN'S INVITATION. HE SAID HE NOTED THE CONCERN EXPRESSED BY PRESIDENT MACHEL ABOUT A "SILENCE" OVER SMITH'S EFFORTS TO CONCLUDE AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. HE HAD REPORTED THIS TO LONDON AND EXPECTED THAT AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT WOULD BE MADE SHORTLY. HE HIMSELF WOULD BE SPEAKING TO THE PRESS IN JOHANNESBURG AND WOULD MAKE CLEAR OUR POSITION TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IN HIS MEETING WITH BOTHA AND TO THE BOTSWANANS IN GABORONE LATER IN THE DAY. HE NOTED WE HAVE ALREADY HAD AN INTEND TO CONTINUE CONTACTS WITH MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE (M/S) IN ORDER THAT THEY FULLY UNDERSTAND OUR POSITION.

3. MACHEL NODDED, BUT HE SAID, FOR HIS PART HE CONSIDERS THEM TO BE TRAITORS. HE ASKED US WHETHER WE REALLY THOUGHT THE WORLD UNDERSTOOD OUR SILENCE OR WHETHER IT DID NOT BELIEVE WE WERE CONTRIBUTING TO SABOTAGE OF THE AAP BY REFRAINING FROM CONDEMNING THE TALKS. IT WAS NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR TO HIM, HE SAID, WHAT WE WERE SAYING TO M/S WHEN WE SPOKE TO THEM IN WASHINGTON, LONDON AND ELSEWHERE. I SAID THAT WE WELCOMED THE OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE CLEAR TO HIM WHAT OUR CONFIDENTIAL

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POSITION WAS AND WHAT WE WERE SAYING TO M/S, AND I REPEATED THAT WE CONTINUED TO BELIEVE THAT ONLY A SETTLEMENT AMONG ALL THE PARTIES INCLUDING REPRESENTATIVES OF THOSE DOING THE FIGHTING, COULD SUCCEED, THAT WE BELIEVED THE SETTLEMENT MUST BE INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE AND THAT WE WERE PROCEEDING VIGOROUSLY TO NEGOTIATE, GET AGREEMENT ON, AND EVENTUALLY IMPLEMENT OUR PROPOSAL.

4. MACHEL ASKED WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF SMITH WAS SUCCESSFUL IN NEGOTIATING AN AGREEMENT WITH M/S, HELD AN ELECTION AND INSTALLED ONE OR THE OTHER OF THEM. ANSWERING HIS OWN QUESTION HE SAID HE WAS CERTAIN THAT THE UK WOULD ORGANIZE THE WORLD IN RECOGNIZING SUCH A GOVERNMENT. THE CONTINUING STRUGGLE WOULD BE SUPPORTED BY THE COMMUNISTS. A CIVIL WAR WOULD TAKE PLACE WHICH, ALTHOUGH IT WAS IN REALITY A WAR OF LIBERATION, WOULD DIVIDE AFRICA. WE REPLIED THAT IT WAS EXACTLY THIS THAT WE SOUGHT TO AVOID, THEN AS VELOSO (DIRECTOR OF SECURITY) NODDED HIS AGREEMENT, I REVIEWED THE SERIES OF OBSTACLES WHICH HAD BEEN PUT IN OUR PATH AS WE PROCEEDED WITH OUR PROPOSAL, SAYING THAT THE

ONLY WAY OF DEALING WITH THEM WAS BY REFUSING TO BE
DISTRACTED AND MOVING AHEAD TO COMPLETE AGREEMENT
ON OUR PROPOSALS. I SAID WE SHOULD NOT PERMIT OURSELVES
TO ALLOW SMITH TO DELAY OUR PROGRESS OR DIVERT US
FROM OUR PURPOSE.

5. MACHEL SAID HE ACCEPTED THE FORCE OF THE US
POSITION. THIS HAD BEEN MADE CLEAR TO PRESIDENT
NYERERE BY PRESIDENT CARTER AS WELL AS TO HIMSELF
AND HE HAD NO DOUBTS ABOUT THAT. HE DID NOT HAVE
THE SAME CONFIDENCE IN THE BRITISH POSITION, HOWEVER.
AT LEAST, HE SAID, HE HAD NOT HAD THAT CONFIDENCE
UNTIL THESE TALKS AND UNTIL HE HAD HEARD FROM LORD
CARVER THE DETAILS OF HIS PLAN. HE WAS REASSURED,
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HOWEVER, ABOUT OUR INTENTIONS ON THE CREATION OF AN
ARMY BASED ON THE LIBERATION FORCES. LORD CARVER
REPEATED OUR BASIC COMMITMENT TO THIS CONCEPT AND HIS
OWN CONVICTION THAT ONLY IN THIS WAY COULD A REAL
SETTLEMENT BE ACHIEVED.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 PRETORIA 0139

EXDIS

FROM AMBASSADOR LOW

6. MACHEL THEN READ FROM A PREPARED PAPER CONGRATULATING US IN FULSOME TERMS ON THE FORM THE TALKS HAD FOLLOWED, THE SINCERITY AND FRANKNESS WITH WHICH WE HAD DETAILED OUR PROPOSAL, AND THE PATIENCE WHICH WE HAD SHOWN IN STUDYING AND CONSIDERING MOZAMBIQUE CONCERNS AND EXPLAINING OUR REPLIES. HE SAID HE WAS SATISFIED THAT HIS QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN SERIOUSLY ADDRESSED AND STATED THAT IT WAS OUR COMMON VIEW THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO GET DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE UK AND THE PF GOING AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. (HE NOTED THAT A MEETING HAD NOT BEEN POSSIBLE IN MAPUTO BECAUSE NKOMO WAS OUT OF TOWN. HE HAD, HOWEVER, TALKED TO MUGABE AND SILUNDIKA, SPEAKING TO THEM OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE PROBLEM.) AGREEMENT WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WOULD BE SUPPORTED BY THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, CONFIDENTIAL

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HE SAID, AND THIS WOULD ALLOW THE UN AND UK TO APPLY "EXTREME MEASURES" IN TH EVENT SMITH DID NOT ACCEPT THE AGREEMENT HIMSELF.

7. MACHEL SAID SMITH WAS JUST PLAYING WITH MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE, DANGLING POWER BEFORE THEM, BUT HE HAD NO INTENTION OF TRANSFERRING IT. HE ADDED THAT SMITH HAD EVEN TRIED TO INTEREST PART OF THE PF. SMITH WAS SIMPLY PLAYING FOR TIME, IN ORDER TO "BLACKEN" HIS ARMY AND ASSURE A CIVIL WAR IN ZIMBABWE. IT WAS OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE THAT THE UK PUBLICLY CONDEMN THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. HE WARNED AGAINST ANY ACT TO RECOGNIZE OR LEGITIMIZE A GOVERNMENT WHICH SMITH INSTALLED. THEN HE INDULGED IN ONE OR TWO PERIPHERAL CRITICISMS OF WESTERN MERCENARIES IN RHODESIA AND WESTERN INVESTMENT IN TRANSKEI. TURNING TO THE UN FORCE, HE SAID MOZAMBIQUE WISHED TO PARTICIPATE IN IT TO PROVIDE POLITICAL AND MILITARY REPRESENTATIVES TO ASSIST THE UN REP WHEN HE IS INSTALLED IN SALISBURY. UN LOGISTICS, AFTER ALL, WOULD HAVE TO PASS THROUGH MOZAMBIQUE AND IT HAD MORE THAN 1,000 KMS. OF FRONTIER WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE PATROLLED JOINTLY. FRONT LINE PARTICIPATION WAS EQUALLY IMPORTANT. THE UN CONTINGENT SHOULD INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AS WELL. HE KNEW THAT WE HAD HAD CONVERSATIONS WITH THE NIGERIANS OVER THEIR PARTICIPATION WHICH HE WELCOMED. BUT OTHER AFRICAN STATES SHOULD ALSO PARTICIPATE. MOZAMBIQUE WANTED TO FOLLOW CLOSELY THE TALKS AS THEY

PROCEEDED. IT WISHED ITS OWN REPRESENTATIVES TO BE PRESENT AND HE OFFERED MOZAMBIQUE AS A LOCATION FOR TALKS. FINALLY MACHEL SAID HE WOULD TRANSMIT TO OTHER FRONT LINE STATES THE RESULTS OF OUR CONVERSATIONS AND THE DETAILS OF OUR PLAN, AND HE ASKED US TO PASS
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ON HIS RESPECTS TO PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN AND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND PRESIDENT CARTER.

8. IN INFORMAL COMMENTS AT THE DINNER PARTY AFTERWARDS, SERGIO VIERA EXCUSED THE PF'S RELUCTANCE TO ENTER INTO THE TALKS BY EXPLAINING THE RISKS THEY WERE RUNNING IN DOING SO. HE SAID ONCE THEY ENTERED IN SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS, THE WILL TO FIGHT OF THEIR FORCES WOULD INEVITABLY BE AFFECTED. THEY HAD TO BE CERTAIN, THEREFORE, THAT IF THESE NEGOTIATIONS WERE SUCCESSFUL, THEY WOULD BE IMPLEMENTED. THEIR SKEPICISM IN VIEW OF EARLIER FAILURES WAS UNDERSTANDABLE.

9. COMMENT: MACHEL HAD CLEARLY INTENDED THAT THE DISCUSSIONS BE SUCCESSFUL. VELOSO TOLD US HE HAD RECEIVED CLEAR INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE PRESIDENT THAT HE WAS TO CONSIDER THE DISCUSSIONS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT AND TREAT THEM SERIOUSLY. WHILE SPEAKING FRANKLY AND ON OCCASIONS COMING DOWN HARD ON US, MACHEL WAS GOOD NATURED IN HIS PRESENTATION. THE RESULT WAS A CLEAR COMMITMENT TO ASSIST IN GETTING TALKS STARTED, PARTICIPATE IN THEM AS NECESSARY, AND MAKE AN EFFORT TO ASSIST IN THEIR SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION.

10. THE ONE RESERVATION THE MOZAMBIicans CALLED ATTENTION TO NEAR THE END WAS THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE UN FORCE. THEY WENT OUT OF THEIR WAY TO POINT OUT THAT IT WAS CONDITIONAL ON AGREEMENT ON ITS COMPOSITION AND ROLE AND ASKED THAT WE MAKE THESE CONDITIONS CLEAR IN ANY PUBLIC STATEMENT MADE ABOUT THEIR AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO SUCH A FORCE.

11. ANY CORRECTIONS, ADDITIONS OR COMMENTS WHICH MAPUTO WOULD LIKE TO MAKE WOULD BE WELCOME. BOWDLER

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